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# Abraham Lincoln's Contemporaries

Thomas Jefferson

Excerpts from newspapers and other  
sources

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## LIFE PORTRAITS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

*Born at Shadwell, Virginia, April 2, 1743. Died at Monticello, Virginia, July 4, 1826.*

WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION BY CHARLES HENRY HART.



HOMAS JEFFERSON has had more ardent followers, and more ardent opponents, than perhaps any other patriot in American history. The cause of this is that he was essentially a strong man, and no one can follow the lines of his face without seeing this.

In MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE for October, 1897, was presented the life mask of Thomas Jefferson, taken by J. H. I. Browere, in 1825, when Jefferson was eighty-two years old. In relation to this, Jefferson said: "I now bid adieu forever to busts and even portraits." It was two-score years earlier that Jefferson sat to Mather Brown for the first portrait that we know of him, and which is the first portrait here reproduced. Others follow by Houdon (1789), Gilbert Stuart (1800), Rembrandt Peale (1803), George Miller (1803), St. Mémin (1805), and Thomas Sully (1821). These portraits, covering a period of thirty-five years, are selected as among the best and most characteristic to which we have access.

When Jefferson was in France, John Trumbull was there, and at the minister's house at Chaillot, in the autumn of 1787, he painted Jefferson's portrait for his picture "The Declaration of Independence." It was one of those small cabinet portraits, on panel, for which Trumbull is so justly celebrated, and is now owned by Mrs. John W. Burke, of Alexandria, Va. The head of Jefferson in the "Declaration of Independence" picture is not a close copy of the original. Charles Willson Peale, to whom Americans are under lasting obligations for preserving authentic portraits of the public men of the Revolutionary epoch, painted a portrait of Jefferson in 1791, which belongs to the city of Philadelphia and is a most interesting delineation of him. James Sharples made a pastel portrait of Jefferson in 1798, which is also owned by the city of Philadelphia, but it is deficient in character and individuality.

A number of portraits of Jefferson were

made that cannot be traced, which is the more to be regretted as some of them were by skillful artists. Jefferson took an intelligent interest in art, and posed as a profound connoisseur. He numbered among his personal intimates, Richard and Maria Cosway, Trumbull, Peale, Houdon, Ceracchi, and most of the foreign contingent that emigrated to these shores. It was chiefly due to his instrumentality that George Hadfield, the brother of Maria Cosway, came from England as assistant architect of the Capitol at Washington, and that Cardelli and Persico came from Italy to do the carvings. Jefferson was an amateur of some ability, especially in the not easy field of architecture. The University of Virginia, which he designed, would do no discredit to a professional of recognized experience. Jefferson showed himself to be a man of excellent aesthetic taste, and with an actual knowledge of the subject far beyond the general cultivation of his time. His correspondence teems with suggestions and reflections on design and decoration, showing an understanding of the subject, and not merely idle thoughts bestowed on an ephemeral fad.

Perhaps the most important of the lost portraits of Jefferson is the bust made by Ceracchi, which was destroyed with the burning of the library of Congress, December 24, 1851, and of which there seems to be neither replica or copy. Dr. William Thornton, the first Commissioner of Patents, and an amateur artist of decided proficiency, calls it, in writing to Jefferson, a "superb bust, one of the finest I ever beheld." Jefferson paid Ceracchi \$1,500 for the original marble, that being the amount of tax the disgruntled Italian levied upon all those persons whom he had besought to sit to him as a favor, when his scheme for a national monument fell through and he prepared to leave the country.

William J. Coffee, an Englishman, who modeled small busts in terra cotta, made a bust of Jefferson in April, 1818, as also busts of his daughter Mrs. Randolph and granddaughter Ellen, for the three of which

Jefferson paid \$105. In commanding the sculptor to Madison as "really able in his art," Jefferson said he gave "less trouble than any artist, painter, or sculptor I have ever submitted myself to." This bust is also among the missing, although those of Mrs. Randolph and Ellen are at Edgehill. Pietro Cardelli modeled a bust of Jefferson in 1819, but it is unknown, although a number of plaster copies were subscribed for by disciples of the statesman. It is highly improbable that Jefferson could have been, as he was, on terms of familiar intimacy with Richard and Maria Cosway, each of them skilled miniature painters, and that neither of them should have painted his portrait. Yet such a portrait is not known, any more than the miniature that was painted of him by Thomas Gimbred, and engraved by the painter for "State Papers and Publick Documents," published in 1815. Another unknown portrait is recorded in Jefferson's financial diary under July 12, 1792: "Paid Williams for drawing my portrait, 14 D."

Jefferson seems to have approved of his own profile. In April, 1789, when in France, he had two profiles made, for one of which he paid six francs, and for the other, thirty francs; and early in 1804, Amos Doolittle, an engraver from Connecticut, appears to have made several of him. His profile was also cut at Peale's Museum about this time. The next year Gilbert Stuart painted his famous profile in monochrome. There are a number of these so-called Stuart profiles, but the identity of the original by Stuart is undetermined. Hon. T. J. Coolidge of Boston, great-grandson of Jefferson, claims to own it; but his is painted in oil color, while Jefferson writes to Joseph Delaplaine, in 1813, that it is "in water color"; and six years later writes to General Dearborn that Stuart did it "on paper with crayon." Dr. Thornton, to whom Jefferson lent it to copy, calls it a "drawing," as does also Jefferson, which would imply that it was either in crayon or water color. Dr. Thornton made his copy in Swiss crayon, which would indicate that to be the medium of the original he was copying. For the original Jefferson paid Stuart \$100, June 18, 1805, covering the payment in the following note: "Mr. Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Stewart, and begs leave to send him the inclosed for the trouble he gave him in taking the head *a la antique*. Mr. Stewart seemed to contemplate having an engraving made either from that or the first portrait; he is free to use the one or the other at his

choice; the one not proposed to be used I will be glad to receive at Mr. Stewart's convenience; the other when he shall be done with it." This Stuart profile was so popular that William Birch copied it in enamel, and also employed Edwin to engrave it, that he might give the prints away and a proper likeness of Jefferson be circulated.

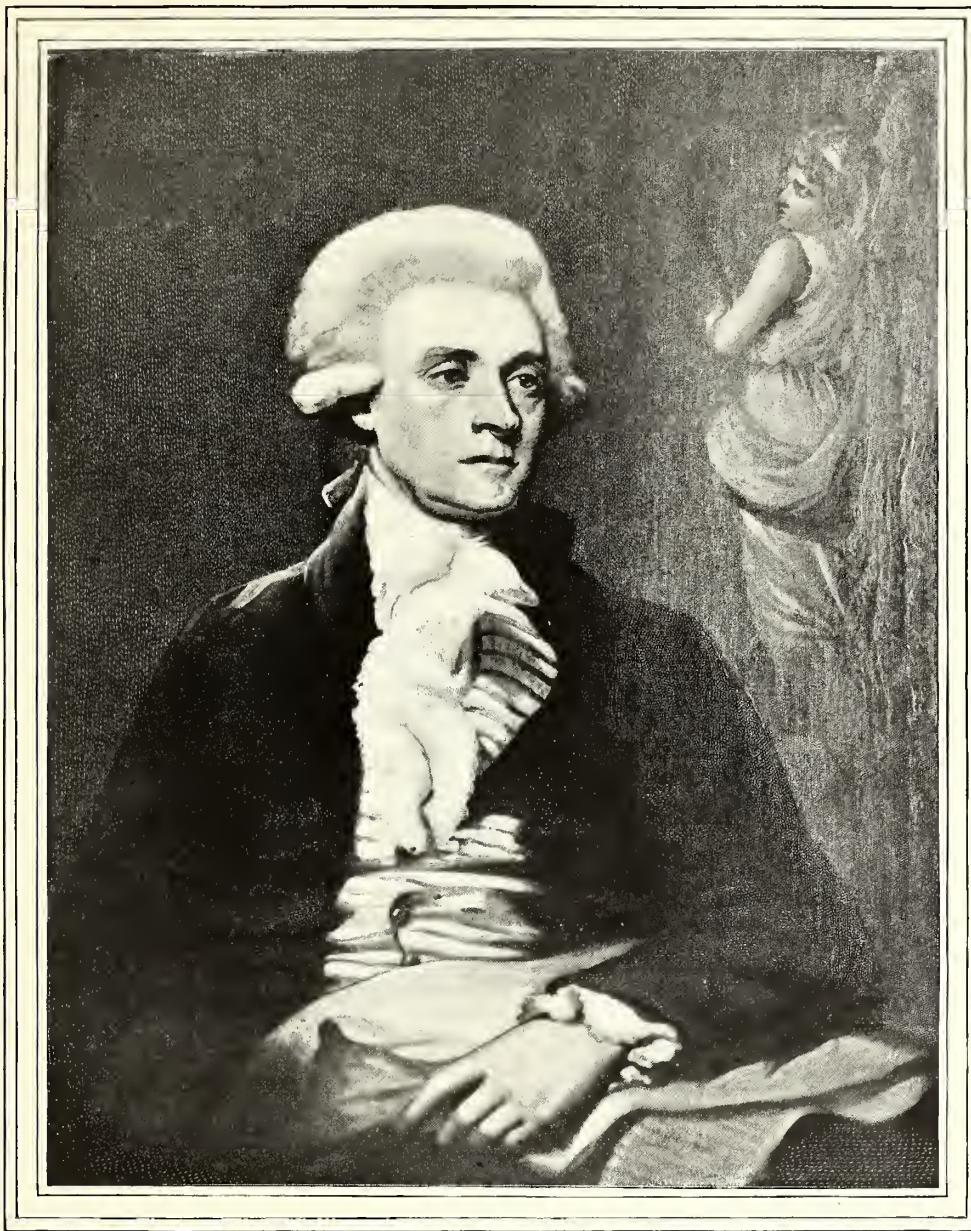
Bass Otis, a very indifferent painter, made a portrait of Jefferson in the summer of 1816, for Delaplaine's gallery, which was engraved by Nagle, and the original is now owned by Mr. W. J. Campbell of Philadelphia. Relative to this portrait Dr. Thornton writes to Jefferson, July 20, 1816: "Never was such injustice done to you except by sign painters and General Kosciusko, than which last nothing can be so bad, and when I saw it I did not wonder that he lost Poland—not that it is necessary that a general should be a painter, but he should be a man of such sense as to discover that he is not a painter." The profile of Jefferson by Kosciusko is nothing less than a grotesque caricature. The original drawing was destroyed, but it is preserved, as an iconographic curiosity, in a fac-simile aquatint in colors, by Ml. Sokolnicki.

Charles Peale Polk, who was a nephew, pupil, and imitator of Charles Willson Peale, painted a portrait of Jefferson from life, about 1800, which, if it is, as I think it is, the picture owned by Mrs. F. A. March of Easton, Pennsylvania, exhibits some marked characteristics of the original, but very crudely rendered. Edward Savage painted and engraved in mezzotinto a portrait of Jefferson, and introduced an admirable whole-length figure of Jefferson, in profile, when completing Pine's picture of "The Congress voting Independence," which highly interesting and important painting is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Jefferson's figure was commanding, six feet two and a half inches in height, well formed, neither stout nor thin, indicating strength, activity, and robust health. His carriage was erect, and his step firm and elastic, which he preserved till his death. His hair was of a reddish cast, his complexion sandy, and his eyes, blue when young, changed to a hazel gray as he advanced in years. When he died, at the age of eighty-four, he had not lost a tooth, nor had he a defective one.

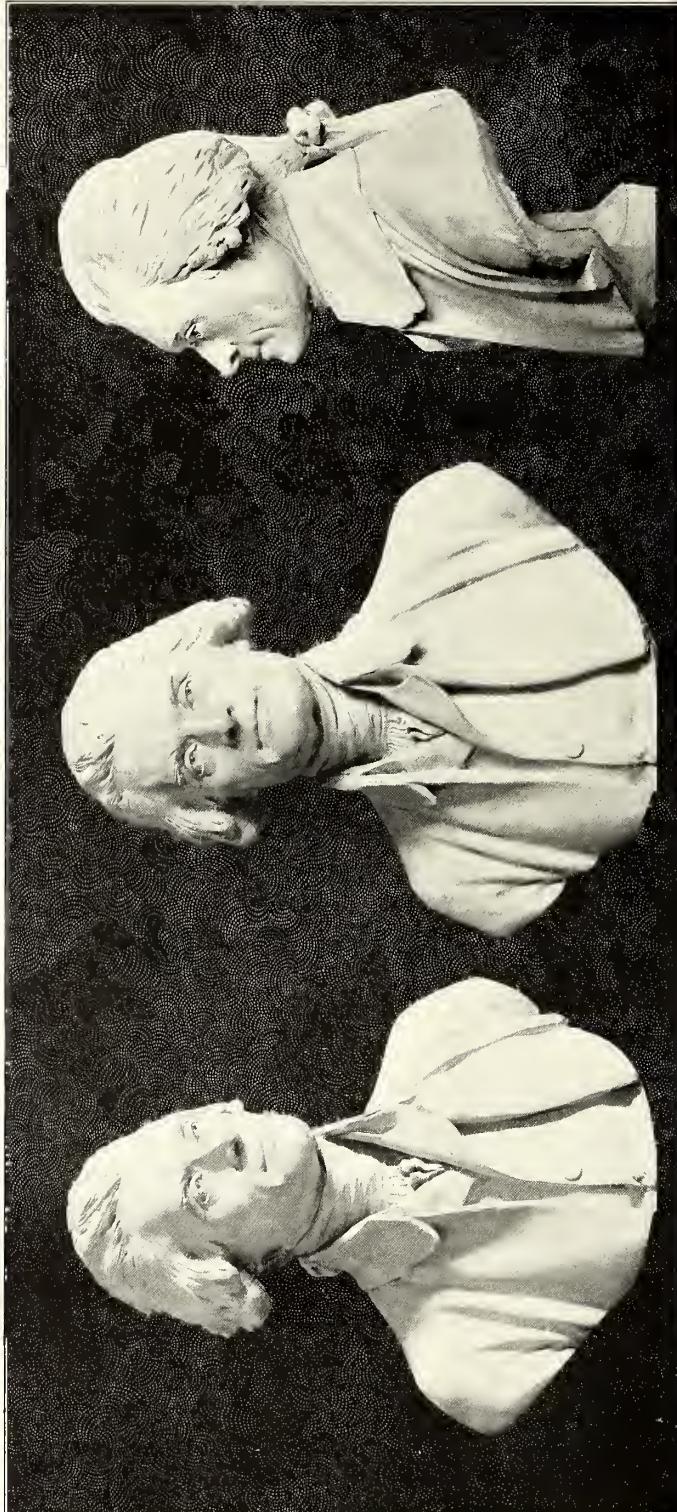
There is no known portrait of Martha Wayles, who became the wife of Thomas Jefferson on New Year's Day, 1772, and died September 6, 1782, at the age of thirty-four.

## LIFE PORTRAITS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.



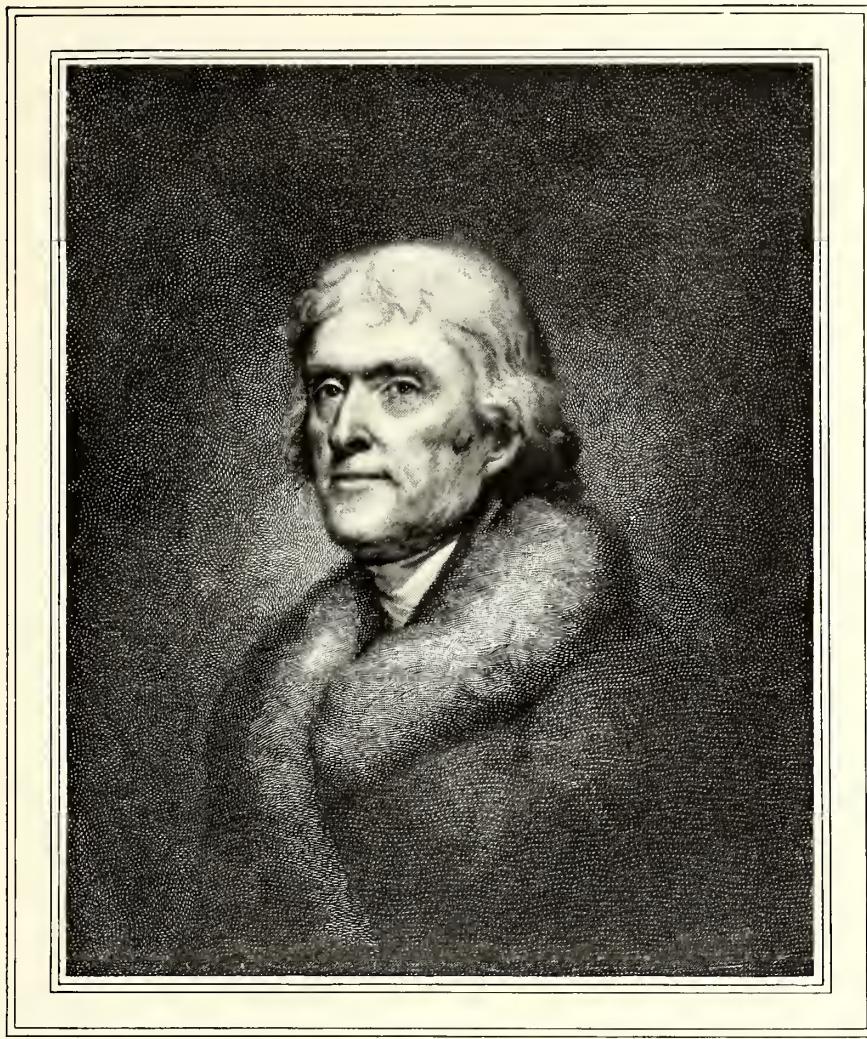
THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1786. AGE 43. PAINTED BY MATHER BROWN. THE EARLIEST LIFE PORTRAIT OF JEFFERSON KNOWN.

From the original portrait painted by Mather Brown; now owned by Mr. Henry Adams, Washington, D. C. Canvas, 28 by 36 inches. Mather Brown died in London, May 25, 1831, at an advanced age and very poor. He was a native of Boston and a grandson of the famous Tory clergyman Mather Byles. He went to London and had some instruction from West, and at one time held a prominent position there, as a portrait painter. The portrait of Jefferson here reproduced was painted, in London, for John Adams, and the artist's receipt for the price of the picture is attached to the back of the canvas: "London May 12, 1786, Rec'd of his Excellency John Adams Esq Six Guineas for a kit-kat portrait of Mr. Jefferson." A replica was painted for Jefferson, and Brown also painted a portrait of John Adams for his famous colleague, which picture, with the Jefferson replica and one of Thomas Paine, which Brown also painted for Jefferson, has disappeared. Trumbull wrote from London to Jefferson at Paris, "Brown is busy about the pictures. Mr. Adams is like—yours I do not think so well of." The portrait has, however, considerable historical importance as being the earliest delineation of Jefferson that has come down to us.



THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1789. AGE 46. MODELED BY HOUDON.

From a plaster cast of the bust modeled by Houdon, now owned by the New York Historical Society. Jefferson's relations with the great French sculptor, Houdon, were of the closest personal and official character, Jefferson having been charged with the commission to engage the sculptor to execute the statue of Washington for the State of Virginia. It can readily be understood, therefore, that Houdon's bust of the author of the Declaration of Independence was no perfunctory piece of modeling. Houdon took a mask of Jefferson's face; and for the bust in marble, Jefferson paid Houdon, July 3, 1789, one thousand francs. This same year it was exhibited in the Salon, where it masqueraded, according to the catalogue, as "M. Sesseron, envoyé des Etats de la Virginie." Unfortunately, the original marble was destroyed, by the carelessness of workmen, at Monticello, during Jefferson's lifetime. But there are two signed plaster casts of it; the one in the rooms of the New York Historical Society, New York City, and the other in the hall of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. The latter was given by Jefferson to David Rittenhouse, and was engraved by Longacre, for Tucker's "Life of Jefferson." Its characterization is very fine, and although decidedly French in its contour, it gives an aspect of Jefferson's face which is perfectly natural.



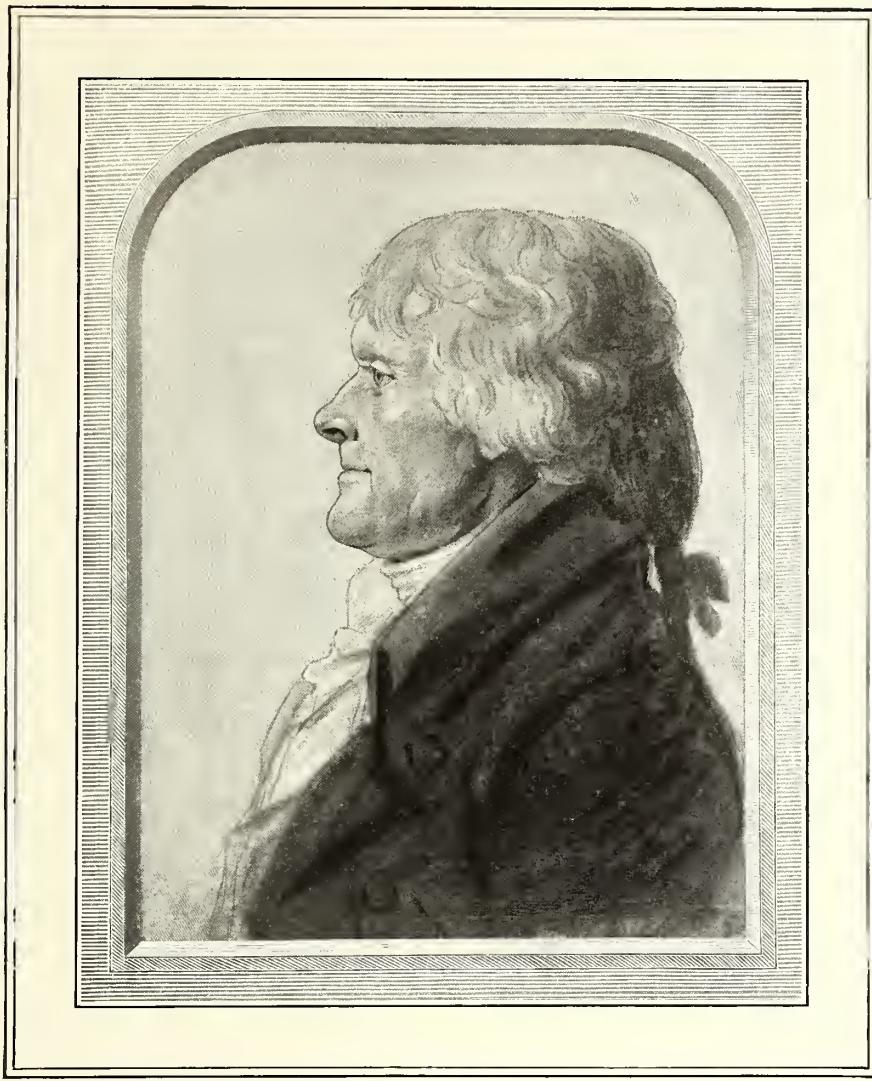
THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1803. AGE 60. PAINTED BY REMBRANDT PEALE.

From the original portrait painted by Rembrandt Peale, now owned by the New York Historical Society. Canvas, 24 by 30 inches. Rembrandt Peale, the second son of Charles Willson Peale, was born February 22, 1778, and died October 3, 1860. There are at least two portraits of Jefferson painted at the beginning of the century by "R." Peale which are known at the present day only through contemporary copper-plate engravings by David Edwin and Cornelius Tiebout. It is true that both Rembrandt and his elder brother, Raffaelle, were painting at this time, but as Raffaelle is known only as a painter of still-life and a few miniatures, the initial "R." on these engraved portraits of Jefferson must stand for Rembrandt. The earliest print, by Edwin, was published by J. Savage in 1800; and Tiebout's plate bears the imprint of Matthew Carey, Feb. 20, 1801. Early in this year Peale went abroad, and doubtless took with him impressions of Tiebout's plate; for in August there was published, in Paris, an engraving by Desnoyers from a drawing of the Tiebout print by Bouch, which has been repeatedly engraved on the other side, and is the Frenchman's portrait of Jefferson. These "R." Peale portraits of Jefferson have a special interest from the frequency with which they were engraved during Jefferson's lifetime. One of them, "Engraved by Harrison Junr.," was used in the Philadelphia edition (1801) of "Notes on Virginia," thus giving it the mark of Jefferson's approval. This, however, may not be of much value, in view of what Jefferson wrote to Joseph Delaplaine,—"There is nothing to which a man is so incompetent, as to judge of his own likeness." Peale returned home in 1803, and almost his first work after his return seems to have been to paint the portrait of Jefferson here reproduced. This picture shows plainly the benefit he derived from his experience abroad, for it is a beautifully painted portrait, being indeed the best example of Rembrandt Peale's work that I know. It was painted for the Peale Museum, and there it remained until the public sale of the collection in 1854, when it was bought by Mr. Thomas Jefferson Bryan, of Philadelphia, for \$125. Later Mr. Bryan presented it, with his important collection of pictures, to the New York Historical Society.



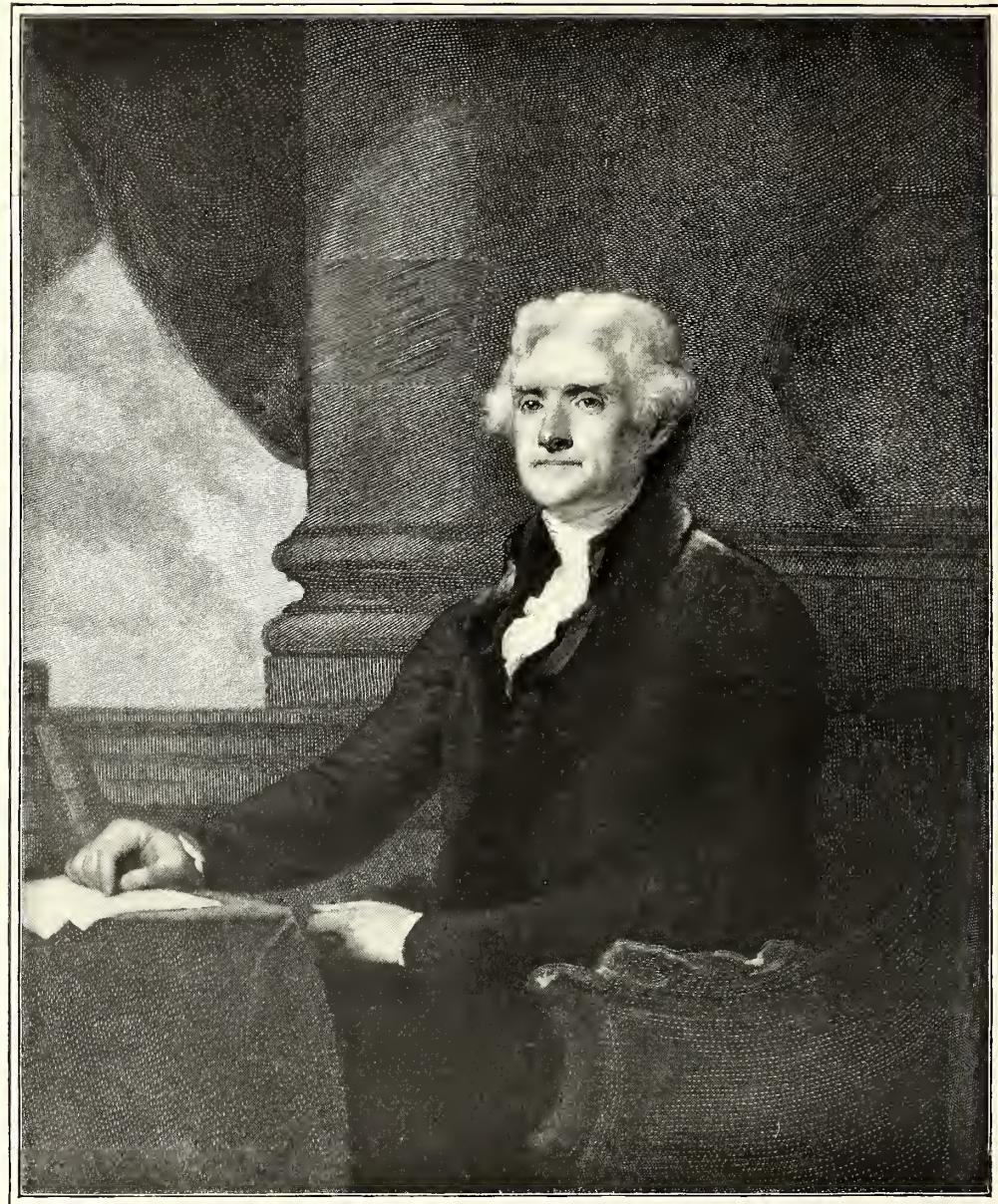
THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1803. AGE 60. MODELED BY GEORGE MILLER.

From the original bas-relief in gypsum by George Miller, now owned by the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. Size, 4 by 6 inches. This finely executed portrait and the one of Washington (reproduced in *McCLURE'S MAGAZINE* for February, 1897) are the only works of this character by Miller that have come under my notice. Miller was one of the original associates of the Society of American Artists, formed in May, 1810. That he had versatility as a modeler is shown in that he made not only life-size busts and miniature bas-reliefs, but also a statue of Venus, in wax, "life size and coloured to nature," which was exhibited in Philadelphia at the Apollo-dorean Gallery from 1812 to 1815, when it was taken to Baltimore. It is curious to note that in the earlier days it was not considered derogatory to art for the craftsman to liberally advertise. Thus we find Miller, in 1815, announcing in the Philadelphia newspapers that he has "taken a shop directly opposite the new theatre, where he continues to model likenesses in wax, composition and in plaster of paris of any size." He concludes by "returning his most grateful acknowledgments to those ladies and gentlemen who seconded his efforts by their kind patronage and protection, without which he must have abandoned this branch of the fine arts or sought another clime to have exerted his abilities. Peace has opened a new field for his prospects, and he hopes through the fostering protection of a discerning public to succeed in his labors." Dunlap says, "from necessity he turned gold beater." So much for the state of the arts among us fourscore years ago. The bas-relief reproduced was originally the property of Zeligman Phillips, one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1805, a prominent criminal lawyer, and a pronounced follower of Jefferson's school of politics. From him it descended to his son, the late Hon. Henry M. Phillips, of Philadelphia, who presented it to the American Philosophical Society, of which Jefferson was the third president. It is inscribed with the date and artist's name, in the handwriting of its original owner, Zeligman Phillips.



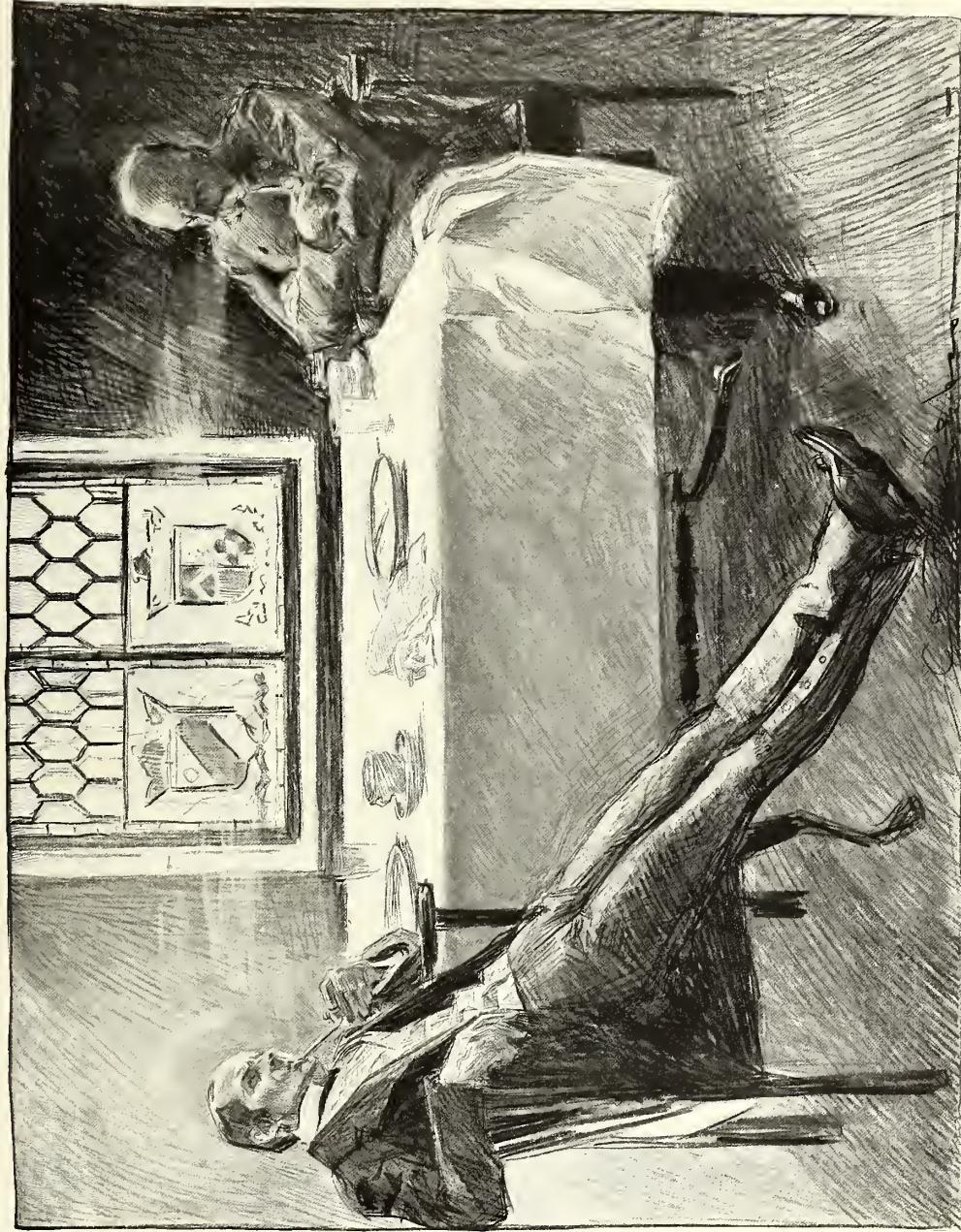
THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1805. AGED 62. DRAWN BY ST. MÉMIN.

From the original crayon drawing by C. B. J. Févret de St. Mémin, now owned by Mr. John C. Baucroft of Boston. Size, 12 by 18 inches. St. Mémin's American itinerary was New York, 1793 to 1798; New Jersey, 1798; Philadelphia, 1798 to 1804; Baltimore, Annapolis, and Washington, 1804 to 1807; Virginia, 1808; South Carolina, 1809; New York, 1810; and thence back to France in 1814. He never made a stronger or more characteristic drawing than the profile of Jefferson here reproduced. It was for many years the treasured possession of the distinguished historian, George Bancroft, from whom it passed to his son, the present owner. St. Mémin made a drawing of Jefferson the previous year, which he engraved in his usual two-inch circle. But the present portrait was engraved in an oval, of which only one impression, besides those preserved in the two complete sets of St. Mémin's works, is known to exist, and it is in a small album, containing sixteen portraits, belonging to Mr. C. S. Bement of Philadelphia, which is inscribed, by St. Mémin: "Gagne-pain du exilé aux États Unis d'Amérique de 1793 à 1814. Dijon 1842. Le nombre des portraits de ce genre dessinés et gravés par M. de St. M. dans les principales villes des États Unis d'Amérique s'élève à 760. Offert à Monsieur G. Peignot comme un faible hommage au sincère respectueux et très affectueuse dévouement du dessinateur et graveur Févret de St. Mémin." Thus it will be seen we are indebted to this ingenious Frenchman, driven from his native land by the turmoils of the Revolution, for the preservation of the lineaments of a large number of our citizens. All were not persons of the highest consideration who sought the physionotrace and graver of St. Mémin to hand down to posterity their counterfeit presents; for St. Mémin's engraved portraits were the *carte de visite* photographs of the period. He furnished the original life-size crayon drawing on pink paper, with the small engraved plate and a dozen impressions of the portrait, for the sum of thirty-three dollars. But for the hand of St. Mémin we should be without portraits of many important personages, whose likenesses his art has alone preserved.



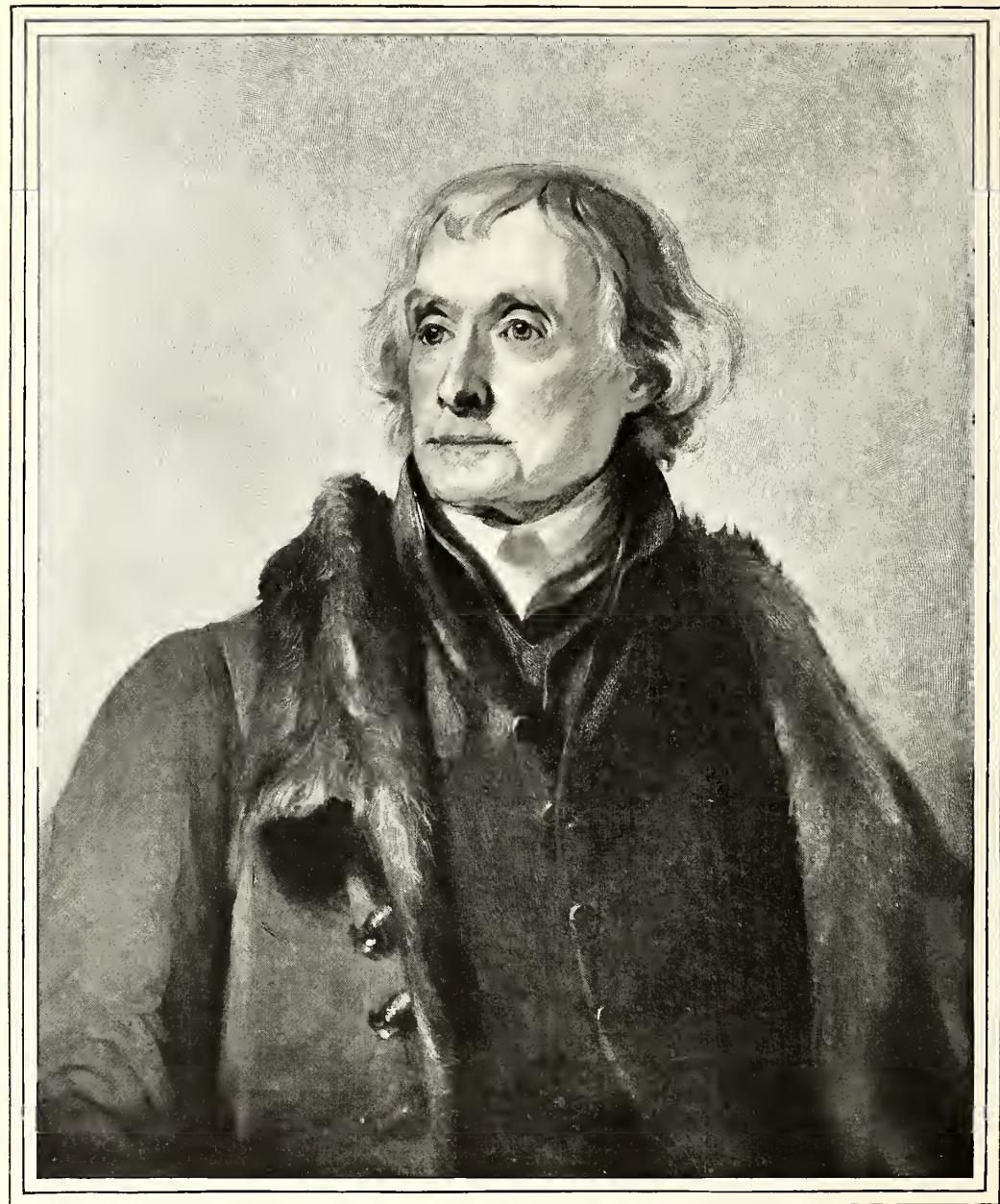
THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1800. AGE 57. PAINTED BY GILBERT STUART.

From the original portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart, now owned by Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Canvas, 41 by 49 inches. The history of Stuart's portraits of Jefferson cannot be written in a brief note. There has been endless controversy as to how many times and when Jefferson sat to Stuart, and which pictures are the original portraits painted from life. The entire story is an interesting one, throwing strong side lights upon the characters of painter and subject. Suffice it to say that Stuart painted Jefferson's portrait from life three times. The first was painted in May, 1800, at Philadelphia, and the second and third in 1805, at Washington. The result of the first sitting is the elaborate and superb picture here reproduced. The second sitting gave the portrait that Jefferson finally obtained from the painter after much difficulty, in the summer of 1801; and the third sitting produced the profile *à la antique* spoken of in the introduction. Jefferson preferred the first picture, and for it he paid the painter \$100. But it was no uncommon thing with Stuart to get pay for a picture that he never delivered, or did not deliver until he was paid for it a second time. Thus Stuart parted with the first portrait to the Hon. James Bowdoin, who subsequently bequeathed it to the college that bears his name. He then put Jefferson off with trifling excuses and prevarications until it is extremely doubtful if the portrait finally sent to Jefferson was even the original of the second sitting; it is more probably a late replica. It is now at Edgehill, near Charlottesville, Virginia, the home of the Randolphs, where the writer saw it in September, 1897.



"What may you be thinking about, friend James?" See page 33.

"RUPERT OF HENTZAU," CHAPTER XV.



THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1821. AGE 78. PAINTED BY THOMAS SULLY. THE LAST LIFE PORTRAIT OF JEFFERSON.

From the original portrait painted by Thomas Sully, now owned by the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. Canvas, 25 by 30 inches. Thomas Sully was born in Hornastle, Lincolnshire, England, June 8, 1783, and died in Philadelphia November 5, 1872. He was brought to this country when a child, and having adopted art as his profession, settled in Philadelphia, where for many years he was a much respected citizen and the leading portrait painter in the community. Persons who are not familiar with Sully's early work, and know him only by his artificial, romantic portraits of women, have no idea how masterful a painter he was. A scrutiny of his portraits of George Frederic Cooke, as Richard III., painted in 1811, and of Senator James Ross, painted in 1814, both in the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, will well repay any one interested in the history and traditions of our home art. At the request of the professors of the United States Military Academy at West Point, Jefferson consented to sit to Sully for a portrait for that institution, and in March, 1821, the artist visited Monticello and painted the portrait here reproduced. From it he painted the whole-length picture now at West Point, for which he was paid \$500. It is the last portrait of Jefferson painted from life, and is a good example of Sully's higher qualities as a painter. The canvas is endorsed by Sully, "From Jefferson 1821, completed 1830."

# THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE BIBLE

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

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## THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE BIBLE

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

BEL-AIR, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

ONE OF the minor mysteries that float about the cloud-wrapped figure of Thomas Jefferson has to do with his quaint little scrap-book known as the "Morals of Jesus." It relates to the books he used in making it. Of course if he had meant it to be published, or had ever thought it might be, he would have stated at the beginning just what editions of the Greek, Latin, French and English New Testaments he had cut his clippings from. But he did not intend it to be published; he made it for his own use and satisfaction, to read just before he went to bed, when the day's work was over. So the problem was left for us to solve.

When a kind neighbor gave me her father's copy of the "Jefferson Bible," some time ago, she aroused my professional curiosity to a degree neither of us anticipated. It was a handsome old book, bound in red leather, published by Congress forty years ago in full facsimile, and distributed to the number of nine thousand copies by senators and congressmen to their valued constituents. My copy seems to have been given by Senator Quarles of Wisconsin to his friend Mr. J. D. Ross, and it was Mr. Ross' daughter, Mrs. Matthew Pearce McCullough, who gave it to me.

It is not really a Bible at all, of course, nor even a New Testament, but a series of selections from the gospels, comprising what Thomas Jefferson considered the most valuable parts of Jesus' teaching. He made such a scrap-book first for the moral education of the Indians, but that has disappeared. Later he made this one, on a more pretentious plan, for it presents the selections in parallel columns in Greek, Latin, French and English.

When Congress published this facsimile edition in 1904, Cyrus Adler, the Librarian of the Smithsonian, identified the English clippings as taken from a King James New Testament published by Jacob Johnson in Philadelphia in 1804. But the editions from which Jefferson derived his Greek, Latin and French texts have never been identified.

It was this problem that haunted me, particularly the problem of exactly what edition of the Greek New Testament Jefferson cut these clippings from. Indeed I felt a certain responsibility in the matter. For have I not spent much of my life with the old editions of the Greek Testament, Erasmus, Stephens, Beza, Elzevir, and the rest, and should I

not be able to recognize one so common that Jefferson could pick up a couple of copies of it, simply by writing to his bookseller in Philadelphia?

For that was what he did. He had tried to persuade Joseph Priestley, the independent English preacher who discovered oxygen, but was driven out of England for his original views, to make such a selection from the gospels, and Priestley seemed inclined to do it. Jefferson had planned to do it himself, but felt that Priestley could do it better, and welcomed his consent to undertake the task, though he admitted in a letter to Priestley written on January 4, 1804, that he had "already sent to Philadelphia to get two testaments (Greek), of the same edition, and two English, with the design to cut out the morsels of morality and paste them in the leaves of a book." But just one month later Priestley died, and Jefferson himself took the plan up again. — It is interesting to read that Priestley's great-grandson was H. H. Richardson, the leading American architect of his generation.

The scrap-book planned with Priestley, unlike the one meant for the Indians and completed in 1813, was evidently planned to present the Greek text in parallel columns with the English. But when in 1819 it was completed, it proved to contain not only the Greek and English but the Latin and French as well. How did this come about? For in 1804 the President had ordered only the Greek and English New Testaments, to use in making his scrap-book, and evidently had in mind nothing more than a two-column arrangement.

The little red leather volume, whenever I picked it up, or merely saw it standing on the second shelf in the corner, always raised a question in my mind: What was the Greek text that Jefferson used? it kept saying to me. Of all the thousand printed editions of the Greek New Testament, which one did his bookseller send him from Philadelphia, in response to his order reported to Priestley early in 1804?

I presently observed that there was never any sign of division left by the Presidential scissors between the Greek and the Latin columns; and it dawned upon me (as I have since learned it had dawned upon others) that they had come to him together, so that his Greek Testament must have been a Greek-Latin one. He did not have to search out the Latin parallels for his Greek; they came to him already united on a single page. This at once cut down the possible candidates by more than half, since most Greek Testaments are not accompanied by a Latin version. I began to see a very thin ray of light upon the problem.

There was nothing very distinctive about the Greek text, but the Latin was decidedly odd. It was very different from the Latin Vulgate, and not like the private versions of Erasmus or Beza. It was in fact a

very dubious kind of Latin, for it frequently used the infinitive to express purpose, a thing abhorrent to an old Latin master like myself, who had spent the best part of his youth teaching young people never to do this.

Now if, as Adler had showed, Jefferson's English column was made up from New Testaments dated 1804, his Greek Testaments, ordered from Philadelphia about the same time, were in all probability of about that date. I therefore inquired of the reference librarian of the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, what Greek-Latin edition published about 1800 they possessed, and was told that they had just such a book, published by Bradford of Philadelphia about the time I mentioned. I immediately visited the library and eagerly examined it.

It proved to contain the same Greek Text and the same Latin version that Jefferson had used, and in type and style of printing it was also remarkably close to the book used by Jefferson. But slight differences in type and printing showed that the two were not identical; moreover it was dated 1806 which seemed to rule it out.

The title page described its Greek text as that of Johannes Leusden, well-known New Testament editor of Utrecht, and its Latin version as that of Benedictus Arias Montanus (Benito Arias Montano, 1527-98), the Spanish editor of the Antwerp polyglot of 1569-72.

Bradford's edition thus settled the two questions a scholar would ask, namely: Whose Greek text did Jefferson use, and whose Latin version? It was Leusden's Greek text (first published in Utrecht in 1675), with the preface of the Amsterdam edition of 1698, and the Latin translation of Benedictus Arias Montanus that Jefferson used in making his famous scrap-book. The eccentricities of Benedictus' Latin version were due to the fact that he made it simply as an interlinear, to accompany the Greek text of the New Testament in the sixth volume of his Antwerp polyglot, and where the Greek used an infinitive of purpose he followed it in his Latin!

But I still felt that New Testament learning owed a kind of debt to the memory of Jefferson, to identify the actual edition which he so patiently clipped and pasted into his gospel scrap-book. Bradford's edition stated that it was itself based upon the latest London edition of Leusden's Greek Testament, which further research indicated was probably one printed by Wingrave and others in 1794. Various eastern libraries admitted that they possessed copies of this work, and my obliging neighbor Dr. Lawrence C. Powell, librarian of the University of California at Los Angeles, kindly borrowed the Yale copy for comparison.

It was an exciting moment when I opened the little brown leather volume to ask it my long unanswered question, and if possible pay the debt of New Testament scholarship to the most erudite of presidents. But the answer was not in doubt for an instant. One glance was enough to decide it. It was indeed Wingrave's printing of 1794 that Jefferson purchased two copies of and painstakingly clipped the verses from, in making his scrap-book on "The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth extracted textually from the Gospels in Greek Latin, French & English." In fact on a few leaves of the scrap-book he has pasted whole pages of the London edition — 19 (p. 201), 46 (p. 214), 51 (p. 54), 57 (p. 63), and 77 (p. 238, interrupted by Matt. 27:13).

Jefferson's scrap-book contained two folding maps, one of the Holy Land, on which was printed "page 1," and the other of the Eastern Mediterranean, on which was printed "page 414." These maps he had simply detached from the 1794 Greek Testament, to which these page numbers refer and in the surviving copies of which they may still be found. The first map precedes page 1 of the 1794 New Testament; the other follows page 414, the end of the Acts. This second one had nothing to do with the "Morals of Jesus," and Jefferson must have pasted it in simply because he wanted to keep it. We must remember that this scrap-book was never intended for publication but only for Jefferson's personal reading and enjoyment. But the maps confirm the identification of the London edition of 1794 as Jefferson's Greek Testament.

This London edition is a fat little volume, 4 inches by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in size, and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches thick. It is bound in calf or sheep, and on the red leather label is printed "Leusden's Greek Testament." Its pages measured  $6\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches, and the type face, without the running head, measures  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by  $2\frac{15}{16}$  inches, — almost exactly its size in the facsimile edition. The text is preceded by Leusden's preface of 1698, in which he recognizes the erratic character of Benedictus Arias' Latin version, and seeks to defend his use of it.

There remains only the problem of what French text Jefferson used for his third column; or is there the more basic question of why he introduced a French column at all? You remember that when he wrote Priestley on Jan. 4, 1804, all he had ordered of his Philadelphia bookseller was "two testaments (Greek), of the same edition, and two English," — evidently contemplating no more at that time than a two column arrangement, Greek and English.

It would appear that what the bookseller sent him was two copies of the Leusden Greek-Latin New Testament, and this suggested to Jefferson including the Latin with the Greek, since they were already so con-

veniently united in the copies before him. Then as he could hardly put three columns on a page, his mind moved on to a four column plan, and of course for a man who had spent years in France, four of them as American minister there, French was the natural choice for the third column. At any rate, in the scrap-book the Greek and Latin occupy the left hand page, and the French and English the right hand.

I am no expert in the various French versions of the New Testament, and after some casting about I addressed the reference department of the British Museum, enclosing a careful transcript of one of Jefferson's French columns. I was rewarded by the redoubtable Mr. L. A. Sheppard, of the Department of Printed Books, with the news that it was clearly from some edition of J. F. Ostervald's translation of the New Testament, but did not exactly correspond with any printing of it in the Museum Library. He went on to say that the Museum's copy of the Jefferson facsimile was destroyed in the fire of May 10th, 1941, a catastrophe of which I had not heard. (This volume of course we hastened to supply.)

Jean Frédéric Ostervald (1663-1747) was a Swiss Protestant leader who in 1724 produced a revision of the French Bible. His version, more thoroughly revised in 1744, has had a wide influence in England as well as on the continent, and even in America. The last printing of it that I have noticed was in 1915, and I have examined editions of it printed in Paris, London, Boston, and New York.

Mr. Sheppard's kind suggestion was of course immediately followed up as far as possible, and with the generous aid of friendly librarians copies of Ostervald as far back as 1779 were consulted, and more recent editions were borrowed and examined, especially those of 1813 (Paris), 1811 (Boston), and 1807 (London). The further back we went among these last, the closer the approximation to Jefferson's exact forms of wording and printing became. No copy of the 1805 edition could be located in this country. But Canon Coleman of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, being invoked, assured us that no Ostervald from 1805 to 1820, in the Bible Society Library, read exactly with the Jefferson French text.

Our thoughts therefore turned to the 1802 Ostervald in that Library, especially as its size, as reported in the great Darlow and Moule catalogue, 4 by 7 inches, was just what Jefferson's French column would lead us to expect, but no copy of that edition could be located in this country. And now a letter from Miss Millicent Sowerby, of the Congressional Library, the recognized authority on Jefferson's books and letters, threw a new light upon the problem. She very kindly informed

me that on January 31, 1805, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Reibelt of Philadelphia ordering two copies of "Le Nouveau Testament corrigé sur le Grec. in 12<sup>mo</sup> Paris 1803," which he had seen in Reibelt's catalogue. Reibelt sent him the books on February 2, asking \$1.60 for them, which the President paid on March 1.

This seemed to be identical with the Paris Ostervald edition described in the Bible Society catalogue as "Le Nouveau Testament . . . Exactement revu et corrigé sur le texte Grec. (L.M.S.) J. Smith: Paris. An. XI. (1802)." The apparent difference in date, as Miss Anne Pratt, the Yale reference librarian, has kindly pointed out to me, is due to the fact that books printed in Paris at that time bore only the year of the new French Republican calendar, according to which "An. XI" covered the last quarter of 1802 (from September 23 on) and three quarters, down to September 22, of 1803. The anno Domini dates 1802, 1803 are supplied by the cataloguers to the best of their knowledge, so that a book dated An. XI might be referred to 1802 or 1803. It must be remembered that Ostervald's version had never been printed in France at all until this Bible Society edition of 1802-3.

It was now virtually certain that Jefferson's French text was the Ostervald published in Paris in 1802. Yet my mind was not at rest, until there came at long last from Canon Coleman at the Bible Society in London a photograph of two pages of that elusive edition, showing Luke 15:26-17:6. A glance at this glossy print was enough. Virtual certainty gave way to absolute. It was indeed the Paris Ostervald of the year XI of the French Republican calendar, that Reibelt sent to President Jefferson, on February 2, 1805, for use in his New Testament labors.

It is clear that by January 1805, Jefferson was planning a four column arrangement, and ordering the two French copies he would require in carrying it out, and that it was the Paris Ostervald of 1802-3 that he used for his French column. I only regret that I have been unable to locate a copy of that edition of Ostervald in any library in this country.

Copies of Leusden's Greek Testament printed in London in 1794 are to be found in the libraries not only of Yale but of New York, Pennsylvania, Congress, Union Theological Seminary and Andover-Newton. It would be interesting to exhibit it occasionally side by side with the facsimile edition of Jefferson's "Morals of Jesus," which derived half its contents and both its maps from that book.

And how like the many-sided Jefferson to produce out of the gospels his own personal manual of religious devotion, in four of the greatest languages of ancient and modern times!

## BOOKS RECEIVED

ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS AND SCHOLARS. *By Eleanor Shipley.* Duckett, N. Y., Macmillan, 1947. x, 488 p. \$5.00.

BANNER OF JERUSALEM: THE LIFE, TIMES, AND THOUGHT OF ABRAHAM ISAAC KUK, THE LATE CHIEF RABBI OF PALESTINE. *By Jacob B Agus.* N. Y., Bloch, 1946. 243 p. \$3.00.

DIE BIBLISCHE GRUNDLAGEN DES CHRISTLICHEN HUMANISMUS. *By Jean Hering.* Zurich, Zwingli Verlag, 1946. 358.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND SOCIAL POLICY. *By John C. Bennett.* N. Y., Scribner's, 1946. 132 p. \$2.00.

CHRISTIANITY TAKES A STAND. [Edited] by William Scarlett. N. Y., Penguin Books, Inc. [c1946]. 128 p. \$.25.

CREATION CONTINUES. *By Fritz Kunkel.* N. Y., Charles Scribner, xiv, 317 p. \$3.00.

DE PRIORUM SAECULORUM SILENTIO CIRCA ASSUMPTIONE B. MARIAE VIRGINES. By P. Othone Faller. Rome, aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1946. xii, 135 p.

EZECHIELFRAGEN. *By Nils Messel.* Oslo, I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1945. 156 p.

THE FAITH OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH. *By Frank Damrosch, Jr.* N. Y., Morehouse-Gorham, 1946. 146 p. \$1.50.

HE LIVES. *By Austin Pardue.* N. Y., Morehouse-Gorham, 1946. 105 p. \$1.50.

HERALDS OF GOD. *By James S. Stewart.* N. Y., Scribner's, 1946. 221 p. \$2.50.

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN ITALY. *By Cecil Roth.* Jewish Publication Society of America, 5706-1946. xiv, 575 p. \$3.00.

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN PURITAN FAITH AND EXPERIENCE. *By Geoffrey F. Nuttall.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1946. xii, 192 p. 15s.

HULDRYCH ZWINGLI, SEINE ENTWICKLUNG ZUM REFORMATOR. Zurich, Zwingli-Verlag, [c1946] ii, 488 p. S.Fr. 14-.

INSPIRATION AND REVELATION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. *By H. Wheeler Robinson.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1946. 298 p. \$5.00.

DAS LEBEN-JESU-FRAGMENT PAPYRUS EGERTON 2 UND SEINE STELLUNG IN DER URCHRISTLICHEN LITERATURGESCHICHTE. Bern, Verlag Paul Haupt, 1946. 101 p.

DAS LEBEN DES HERRN IN DER GENEINDE UND IHREN DIENSTEN. *By Eduard Schweizer.* Zurich, Zwingli-Verlag, 1945. 98 S. Fr.8.50.

THE LIVES OF THE PROPHETS, GREEK TEXT AND TRANSLATION. *By Charles Cutter Torrey.* Philadelphia, Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1946. 53 p.

ORTHODOX STATEMENTS ON ANGLICAN ORDERS. Edited by E. R. Hardy, Jr. N. Y., Morehouse-Gorham, [c1946], xxiii, 72 p. \$1.00.

OUTLINES OF JUDAISM: A MANUAL OF THE BELIEFS, CEREMONIES, ETHICS, AND PRACTICES OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. *By Samuel Price.* N. Y., Bloch, 1946. xiii, 222 p. \$2.75.

RELIGION AND PSYCHOTHERAPIE. *By Dr. Graf Igor A. Caruso.* [Innsbruck, Buchdruckerei; Tyrolia A.G., 1946]. 16 p.

LE SAINT ESPRIT EN NOUS D'AGRES LES PÈRES GRECS. *By Paul Galtier.* Rome, apus ae des Universitatis Gregorianae, 1946. 290 p.

THE STORY OF JESUS FROM THE KING JAMES VERSION OF THE HOLY BIBLE, with illustrations from the old masters. N. Y., Morehouse-Gorham, 31 p. \$.20.

TOP OF THE MOUNT SERMONS FOR THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. *By Vincent C. Franks.* N. Y., Morehouse-Gorham, 1946. ix, 182 p. \$2.00.

TOWARD A UNITED CHURCH. *By William Adams Brown.* N. Y., Scribner, 1946. xvi, 264 p. \$2.50.

DIE UNCHRISTLICHE MISSION, (voraussetzungen, Motive und Methoden.) *By Rudolf Leichtenhan.* Zurich Zwingli-Verlag, 1946. 98 S. Fr.7.80.

WHAT DOES THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH STAND FOR? *By W. Norman Pittenger.* N. Y., Morehouse-Gorham, [c1946]. 24 p. \$.15.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH RELIGION? *By Karl B. Justus.* N. Y., Duell, Sloan, & Pearce, [c.1946]. x, 102 p. \$2.00.







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## PRESIDENTIAL HISTORY

# Find sheds light on Jefferson's slaves

**CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. (AP)** — The site of an old log cabin at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello estate is yielding clues about what life was like for Jefferson's slaves.

Archaeologists have recovered pieces of ceramics and bottles, porcelain dinnerware and a slate pencil, suggesting the third president's slaves may have known how to write.

The excavation may also shed light on whether Jefferson treated slaves differently than did other plantation owners.

The cabin was the home of Elizabeth Hemings, who lived there for 10 years until

her death in 1807 at age 72.

Most historians believe Hemings bore several children to Jefferson's father-in-law, John Wayles, while some say Hemings' daughter, Sally, became Jefferson's mistress after the death of his wife, Martha.

The Hemings family claims Jefferson fathered four children by Sally, but no record of the liaison has been found.

Researchers in January will conduct the first archaeological survey of 2,000 acres of Jefferson's land to locate roads, homes and buildings on the plantation.



**Jefferson:** Slaves may have known how to write

